

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

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FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI

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AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA WPQTO

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

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AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 0389

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, CT, US

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFIRS: INFORMATION ON GOCAR POLICIES

REF: STATE 037591

FOLLOWING IS MISSION'S RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRE CONTAINED
PARA SEVEN REFTEL:

A. AS YOUNG, DEVELOPING NATION LIMITED BOTH IN ECONOMIC
RESOURCES AND INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE, CAR CAN BE EXPECTED IN
1976 AS IN PAST TO CONFINE ITS MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND
OBJECTIVES TO A FEW KEY ISSUES. THESE RELATE TO STRONG ANTI-
COMMUNIST CONVICTION OF CAR VRESIDENT BOKASSA AND TO CAR'S URGENT
ECONOMIC AND DEVEGOPMENT NEEDS.

AT 30TH UNGA, 7TH SPECIAL UNGA SESSION AND LIMA NON-
ALIGNED SUMMIT GOCAR PLAYED RELATIVELY ACTIVE ROLE ON KOREAN,
ANTI-ZIONISM AND ANGOLAN QUESTIONS. GOCAR WAS CO-SPONSOR OF
FRIENDLY KOREAN RESOLUTION AND WE BELIVE THAT IT WILL DO SO
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AGAIN AT 31ST UNGA. BOKASSA PLANS OFFICIAL STATE VISIT TO SEOUL

AT PRESIDENT PARK'S INVITATION AND ROK CONTINUES TO BE IMPORTANT DONOR TO CAR HEALTH SECTOR. UNLESS THERE IS DRAMATIC, UNEXPECTED SHIFT, WE THINK THAT GOCAR WILL AGAIN SUPPORT ISRAEL AS IT DID ON ANTI-ZIONISM RESOLUTION AT PAST UNGA. BOKASSA REMAINS UNHAPPY WITH EFFECT ON CAR ECONOMY OF PETROLEUM PRICES AND WITH ARAB AID LEVELS HERE AND HAS RECENTLY BECOME HIGHLY SUSPICIOUS OF ARAB ACTIVITIES IN CAR. FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST BOKASSA WILL FOLLOW THE LEAD OF MOBUTU ON ANGOLA AND THE SOUTHERN AFRICA COMPLEX OF POLICY ISSUES. APART FROM THESE, CAR WILL CERTAINLY GIVE ACTIVE SUPPORT TO ANY MOVES IN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH IT BELIEVES WILL IMPROVE ITS PROSPECTS OF SOME ECONOMIC RELIEF AND ACCELAERATED DEVELOPMENT. IT WILL SUPPORT MOST INITIATIVES OF LANDLOCKED GROUP AND WILL GO ALONG WITH NON-ALIGNED CONCENSUS ON ISSUES OF LITTLE CONCERN TO ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS.

B. DESPITE CAR'S UNFAVORABLE LANDLOCKED POSITION AND EXTERNAL VULERABILITY DUE TO ITS DEPENDENCY ON FOREIGN AID, THE GOCAR HAS MANAGED TO RETAIN SOME DEGREE OF INDEPENDECE IN ITS MULTILATERAL POLICYMAKING. THE GOCAR OFTEN WITHHOLDS SUPPORT FROM THE OAU ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET UNION, YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA ARE AMONG THE PRINCIPAL AID DONORS TO CAR, NONE OF THESE HAS BEEN ABLE TO CAPITALIZE ON THIS IN MULTILATERAL FORA. PRESIDENT BOKASSA DOES TRY TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON OTHER COUNTRIES

ON CERTAIN ISSUES. BOKASSA IS OPEN TO APPROACHES ON MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS BY US AND OTHER LARGE POWERS. THESE PROVIDE HIM SOME OF THE RARE QUID PRO QUO SITUATIONS IN WHICH HE CAN EFFECTIVELY DEMAND OR WITHHOLD SOMETHING OF INTEREST TO A LARGER POWER. THESE ALSO HAVE EGO VALUE TO HIM AND UNDERSCORE CAR SOVEREIGNTY, BOTH IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS IN BOKASSA'S VIEW. BOKASSA DISPATCHED A SPECIAL ENVOY TO CHAD IN OCTOBER TO SEEK GOCA SUPPORT OF SOUTH KOREA AT 30TH UNGA AND INSTRUCTED HIS UN MISSION TO LOBBY WITH OTHER AFRICAN MISSIONS AT NEW YORK IN BEHALF OF ROK. BOKASSA WAS OUTSPOKEN CRITIC OF MSLA AND SOVIET ANGOLAN POLICY AT SPECIAL ADDIS SUMMIT IN JANUARY AND BOASTS OF HAVING BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN MPLA'S FAILURE TO GAIN ADMISSION AS ANGOLAN REPRESENTATIVE.

C. GOCAR INSTRUCTIONS TO ITS DELDGATIONS OFTEN ARRIVE INCOMPLETE, LATE OR NOT AT ALL DUE TO HIGHLY CENTRALIZED DECISION MAKING PROCESS WHICH IN ALMOST EVERY INSTANCE REQUIRES PRESIDENTIAL ATTENTION. ONE CONFIDENTIAL

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INDICATION OF THIS IS THAT GOCAR TRADIONALLY USES EMBASSY BANGUI AND USUN AS CONDUITS FOR INSTRUCTIONS. THIS RESULTS IN HIGH DEGREE OF ABSENTEEISM. THIS CUMBERSOME SYSTEM DOES OFFER THE ADVANTAGE, HOWEVER, THAT AS PRESIDENT IS DIRECTLY INVOLVED, QUESTION OF RETENTION

OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER CAR DELEGATIONS WHILE MULTILATERAL MEETINGS ARE IN PROGRESS DOES NOT ARISE. IN KOREAN VOTE AT 30TH UNGA, GOCAR DELEGATES REPORTING WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN ELICITING CLEAR, TIMELY

INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT BOKASSA WHICH LED CAR DELEAATION TO CO-AUTHOR PRO-ROK RESOLUTION.

D. WE HAVE NO INDICATIONS THAT CAR AMBASSADORS TO MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE TRIED TO USE THEIR POSITIONS TO GAIN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER. ON CONTRARY IT HAS OFTEN BEEN THESE EMISSARIES THEMSELVES WHO HAVE PRESSED GOCAR FOR INSTRUCTIONS AND ASSISTANCE WITH UNGA OR OTHER MULTILATERAL PROBLEMS WHICH THEY CONSIDERED TO IMPINGE DIRECTLY UPON CAR NATIONAL INTERESTS. INDEED CAR ENVOYS ARE OFTEN APPOINTED TO MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS PRECISELY IN ORDER TO REMOVE THEM FROM THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE. PRESENT CAR AMBASSADOR TO UN, ARTHUR BANDIO, RECEIVED HIS ASSIGNMENTS TO CAIRO, ROME AND NOW NEW YORK REPORTEDLY BECAUSE BOKASSA WISHED HIS LOCAL INFLUENCE DIMINISHED. IMMEDIATE PAST CAR AMBASSADOR TO UN, ADAMA-TAMBAOUX, WAS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT WHEN PRESIDENT BOKASSA SEIZED POWER IN 1966 AND ABOLISHED ASSEMBLY.

E. GOCAR RESPONSIVENESS TO EMBASSY DEMARCHES ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES IS FUNCTION OF EXTENT OF NATIONAL INTEREST THEY PERCEIVE OR PRIOR ACQUAINTANCE WITH ISSUE. IF NO NATIONAL INTEREST APPEARS TO BE INVOLVED SUCH AS IN GUAM, SAMOA OR PUERTO RICAN QUESTION OR IF ISSUE IS OBTUSE SUCH AS LAW OF THE SEA THERE IS LIKELY TO BE NO RESPONSE TO DEMARCHE AT ALL. THERE HAVE BEEN NO INSTANCES IN PAST YEAR IN WHICH GOCAR HAS APPROACHED EMBASSY FOR USG SUPPORT ON ULTILATERAL ISSUES. THIS UNDERSCORES PERSISTENT PROBLEM IN US/CAR RELATIONS OF ENGAGING GOCAR IN POLICY DIALOGUE. HOWEVER, WE HAVE

IMPRESSION THAT THIS SITUATION HAS IMPROVED SOMEWHAT OVER PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS. PRESIDENT BOKASSA APPEARS TO BE MAKING EFFORT TO PROJECT IMAGE OF RESPONSIBLE INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN WHO SPEAKS FOR MODERATE, PRO-WESTERN FORCES IN AFRICA.
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